

Message Text

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 01342 01 OF 02 270712Z
ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 /072 W
-----048711 270757Z /11
R 260900Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4690
INFO USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 1342

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: JA UNGA PORG
SUBJECT: JAPANESE EFFORTS TO GAIN SECURITY COUNCIL SEAT

REF: USUN 118

SUMMARY: GIVEN PRESIDENT'S PUBLIC EXPRESSION OF APPROVAL
FOR JAPANESE PERMANENT SECURITY COUNCIL SEAT, EMBASSY BELIEVES
IT IMPORTANT THAT USG INFORM GOJ AS SOON AS POSSIBLE OF ITS
SUPPORT FOR JAPANESE ELECTION EFFORTS TO NON-PERMANENT SEAT
IN THIS FALL'S UNGA. END SUMMARY.

1. IN LIGHT OF GOJ'S DECISION TO PRESS ITS CANDIDACY FOR
NON-PERMANENT SECURITY COUNCIL SEAT IN THIS FALL'S UNGA
(REFTEL), EMBASSY BELIEVES IT USEFUL TO NOTE FOR RECORD BOTH
JAPANESE MOTIVATIONS AND US POLICY INTERESTS INVOLVED.

2. IN RECENT YEARS, POLITICAL LEADERS SUCH AS PM FUKUDA
AS WELL AS POLICY-PLANNERS WITHIN FONOFF HAVE BEEN
ATTEMPTING TO DEFINE MORE POSITIVE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL
ROLE AND RATIONALE FOR JAPAN IN AN EFFORT TO RESOLVE
PRESENT ANOMALOUS SITUATION WHEREBY JAPAN HOLDS ECONOMIC-
SUPERPOWER STATUS, YET PURSUES RELATIVELY CONSTRAINED
AND PAROCHIAL DIPLOMATIC POLICY. THIS IS MORE THAN JUST
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PAGE 02 TOKYO 01342 01 OF 02 270712Z

AN INTELLECTUAL EXERCISE FOR GOJ, AS EVIDENCED BY
IMPORTANCE JAPANESE ATTACHED TO PM FUKUDA'S ASEAN
INITIATIVE OF LAST AUGUST AND INCREASED ATTENTION TO
MIDEAST AND AFRICAN AFFAIRS. JAPANESE EFFORTS TO DEVELOP
SUCH POLITICAL ROLE, ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH DOMESTIC AND
FOREIGN AUDIENCES, HAVE BEEN SPURRED NOT ONLY BY RECENT
MAJOR CHANGES IN INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT BUT ALSO BY

PRESSURES AND CRITICISM FROM FRIENDS, NOTABLY US. REFLECTING THIS PERCEIVED NEED, PM FUKUDA STRESSED IN HIS JANUARY 21 POLICY SPEECH TO DIET THAT, BASED ON COMMITMENT TO PEACE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT, "JAPAN MUST TAKE ON (GREATER) RESPONSIBILITIES WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY."

3. WITHIN THIS CONTEXT, INCREASED INVOLVEMENT IN UN ACTIVITIES, PARTICULARLY REGULAR PARTICIPATION ON SECURITY COUNCIL, REPRESENTS ESPECIALLY ATTRACTIVE OPTION FOR GOJ. IN ADDITION TO FULFILLING JAPANESE NATIONAL PRIDE AND BELIEF IN ABILITY OF THEIR COUNTRY TO MAKE UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD PEACE (WITH RESULTING DOMESTIC POLITICAL ADVANTAGE TO FUKUDA GOVERNMENT), INVOLVEMENT THROUGH VEHICLE OF UN AND SECURITY COUNCIL, IN VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL ISSUES HELPS GOJ SIDE-STEP DOMESTIC SENSITIVITIES WHICH FREQUENTLY INHIBIT OTHER FORMS OF MORE ACTIVE FOREIGN POLICY.

4. ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS, USG HAS BOTH URGED AND APPLAUDED JAPANESE EFFORTS TO EXPAND THEIR DIPLOMATIC HORIZONS AS CONSTRUCTIVE SUPPLEMENT TO OUR OWN POLICY INITIATIVES AND OBJECTIVES. JAPANESE OFFICIALS AND PUBLIC HAVE TAKEN SPECIAL NOTE OF MARCH 1977 CARTER-FUKUDA SUMMIT WHEN PRESIDENT NOT ONLY SUPPORTED GOAL OF "AN EXPANDED POLITICAL ROLE" FOR JAPAN, BUT
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PAGE 03 TOKYO 01342 01 OF 02 270712Z

SPECIFICALLY REAFFIRMED FULL US SUPPORT FOR JAPANESE ASPIRATIONS TO PERMANENT SECURITY COUNCIL SEAT.

5. SUPPORT FOR JAPANESE IN UN, HOWEVER, IS MUCH MORE THAN MATTER OF JAPANESE PRIDE OR DOMESTIC POLITICS, ALTHOUGH OCCASIONALLY DIFFERING IN TONE AND STRENGTH OF APPROACH TO PARTICULAR MULTILATERAL ISSUES, GOJ BY AND LARGE HAS BEEN ITS BEST INTERESTS SERVED BY MESHING OF ITS POLICIES WITH THOSE OF US AND OTHER WESTERN ALLIES. AS PAST EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN, JAPAN HAS GENERALLY BEEN CONSTRUCTIVE PARTNER OF US WITHIN UN; ITS ACTIVE SUPPORT ON ASIAN-RELATED ISSUES HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY VALUABLE. RECENTLY JAPANESE AT UN HAVE ALSO SHOWN GREATER INTEREST IN SUCH PROBLEMS AS AFRICA, FAR-REMOVED FROM TRADITIONAL JAPANESE CONCERNS. WE WOULD EXPECT THAT REQUIREMENTS OF SECURITY COUNCIL PARTICIPATION WOULD PROVIDE FURTHER OPPORTUNITIES FOR

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 01342 02 OF 02 270713Z
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SS-15 USIA-06 /072 W
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 1342

JAPANESE COOPERATION WITH US ON ISSUES OF MAJOR CONCERN.

6. BASED ON SOUNDINGS LAST YEAR, FONOFF FULLY
RECOGNIZES AND ACCEPTS THAT QUESTION OF EXPANSION OF
PERMANENT SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERSHIP REPRESENTS
PANDORA'S BOX, WHICH US AND OTHER PERMANENT MEMBERS
HAD BEST LEAVE FIRMLY SHUT FOR FORESEEABLE FUTURE. AS
INTERIM SOLUTION, HOWEVER, GOJ HOPES TO OBTAIN NON-
PERMANENT SEAT ON MORE REGULAR AND FREQUENT BASIS,
APPARENTLY EVEN TO POINT OF OCCASIONALLY BRUISING
SENSIBILITIES OF SOME COMPATRIOTS IN ASIAN REGIONAL
GROUP.

7. ACCORDING TO FONOFF UN BUREAU, JAPANESE HAVE
ALREADY BEGUN SPADEWORK NECESSARY FOR THIS FALL'S
ELECTION TO SECURITY COUNCIL, WITH EMPHASIS ON
INFLUENCING BANGLADEZRSTHROUGH ITS FRIENDS TO WITHDRAW
ITS CANDIDACY. GIVEN PRESIDENT'S UNEQUIVOCAL PUBLIC
EXPRESSION OF SUPPORT FOR JAPAN'S PERMANENT MEMBERSHIP,
GOJ WILL EXPECT STRONG US BACKING FOR ITS ELECTION
EFFORTS. FURTHERMORE, ALTHOUGH THIS ISSUE MAY NOT
EXCITE MUCH ATTENTION IN US MEDIA, JAPANESE PRESS,
PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF PM FUKUDA'S PERSONAL INTEREST
IN SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERSHIP, CAN BE EXPECTED TO
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PAGE 02 TOKYO 01342 02 OF 02 270713Z

GIVE HEAVY AND DETAILED PLAY TO GOJ'S CAMPAIGN.

5. IN THIS SITUATION THERE IS POSSIBILITY THAT
HESITANCY IN PROVIDING US SUPPORT MIGHT BE MISREAD IN

TOKYO. ALTHOUGH FONOFF UN BUREAU TECHNICIANS MIGHT
UNDERSTAND TACTICAL REASONS FOR US HOLDING OFF SUPPORT
BEFORE ANNOUNCEMENT OF ASIAN REGIONAL CONSENSUS CANDIDATE,
SUCH SUBLETIES COULD BE MISINTERPRETED BY POLITICIANS,
PRESS AND PUBLIC--PARTICULARLY AT TIME
WHEN BECAUSE OF TRADE FRICTIONS, JAPANESE ARE
HYPER-SENSITIVE TO WHAT THEY PERCEIVE ARE SIGNS OF
COOLING IN BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP.

9. CONSEQUENTLY, EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT IT IS IMPORTANT
FOR USG AT APPROPRIATELY HIGH LEVEL TO EXPRESS PRIVATELY
TO JAPANESE AT EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE OUR FIRM SUPPORT
FOR THEIR CANDIDACY TO NON-PERMANENT SECURITY COUNCIL
SEAT.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: RELATIONS WITH INTERNATIONAL ORGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 26 jan 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978TOKYO01342
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780040-0572
Format: TEL
From: TOKYO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780117/aaaaaodc.tel
Line Count: 185
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Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
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Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 USUN NEW YORK 118
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 aug 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3705101
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: JAPANESE EFFORTS TO GAIN SECURITY COUNCIL SEAT
TAGS: PORG, JA, UNGA
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/aebb70df-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014